

Message Text

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INFO AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY PARIS
USDELMBFR VIENNA
USCINCEUR
USNMR SHAPE

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 3 USNATO 2334

EO 11652: GDS
TAGS: PARM NATO
SUBJ: MBFR DATA DISAGGREGATION:SLOSS-RUTH DISCUSSION

REF: A. STATE 88156 200132Z APR 77, B. USNATO 2308 211230Z APR 77

SUMMARY: THIS MESSAGE REPORTS SLOSS-RUTH DISCUSSION APRIL 21.
RUTH STATED FRG MISGIVINGS ABOUT TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS,
AND GAVE IMPRESSION OF A HARDENING OF FRG POSITION. IN
ADDITION, THE FRENCH HAVE TOLD THE FRG THAT
THEY CONSIDER THAT TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS
WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP TOWARD SOVIET DROIT DE
REGARD. FRG DATA DISAGGREGATION
PAPER, WHICH WILL BE READY LATE NEXT WEEK,
WILL PROPOSE A THREE-PART ALTERNATIVE
TO TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, CONSISTING
OF THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, AN EXCHANGE OF UNIT
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DATA, AND UNILATERAL TABLING OF US SUB-TOTALS
AND WESTERN ESTIMATES OF SOVIET SUB-TOTALS.
RE THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, RUTH SAID THE FRG WOULD
BE WILLING TO CONFIRM IN THE NEGOTIATION THE
ACCURACY OF THE FIGURES IN THE PROPOSED
UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA PUBLICATION. DISCUSSION
OF POSSIBILITY OF SPC MEETING REINFORCED BY
EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS LED RUTH AND SLOSS TO
AGREE THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BETTER FOR
SENIOR US AND FRG EXPERTS FIRST TO

MEET BILATERALLY. ACTION REQUESTED: SEE PARA 8 BELOW FOR RECOMMENDATIONS CONCURRED IN BY SLOSS AND USNATO. END SUMMARY.

1. SLOSS AND FRG ARMS CONTROL COMMISSIONER RUTH HAD DINNER APRIL 21 TO DISCUSS THE AD HOC GROUP REQUEST TO THE COUNCIL FOR AUTHORIZATION TO TABLE NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. ALSO PRESENT WERE ONE OFFICER EACH FROM US AND FRG NATO DELEGATIONS.

2. RUTH SAID THAT HE HAD BEEN RELAXED ABOUT TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS A MONTH AGO. NOW HE IS NOT RELAXED. IN THE MEANTIME, HE HAS TALKED TO A NUMBER OF PEOPLE INCLUDING, HE MADE CLEAR, FOREIGN MINISTER GENSCHER. HE STRESSED THAT THE FRG DOES BELIEVE IN ALLIANCE SOLIDARITY IN SUPPORT OF THE PRINCIPLE OF COLLECTIVITY, BUT CONSIDERS THAT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD GIVE THE OTHER SIDE TOO GREAT AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK AGAINST COLLECTIVITY. THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD NOT BE UNDERSTOOD BY THE GERMAN PUBLIC, IT WOULD BE OPPOSED BY CERTAIN ELEMENTS IN ALL PARTIES IN THE FRG, AND WOULD REDUCE FRG SUPPORT FOR MBFR.

3. RUTH SAID THAT, IN ADDITION, THE FRENCH
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HAD BEEN TALKING TO THE GERMANS ABOUT THIS QUESTION. MISTRAL HAS TOLD THE FRG THAT THE FRENCH CONSIDER THAT TABLING NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS WOULD BE A MAJOR STEP TOWARD SOVIET DROIT DE REGARD OVER WESTERN EUROPEAN FORCE LEVELS. MISTRAL HAD SAID THAT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL DATA WOULD MAKE IT IMPOSSIBLE FOR FRENCH FORCES IN THE FRG TO BE COVERED UNDER THE COMMON CEILING IN ANY WAY.

4. RUTH SAID THAT THE FRG PAPER ON DATA DISAGGREGATION WILL NOT BE READY UNTIL AT LEAST THE MIDDLE OF NEXT WEEK. THIS PAPER WILL PROPOSE A SOLUTION TO THE CURRENT PROBLEM CONSISTING OF THREE PARTS:

(A) THE DUTCH PROPOSAL. THE ALLIES WOULD PREPARE AN UNCLASSIFIED NATO DATA PUBLICATION AS A MEANS OF GIVING THE EAST NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS INDIRECTLY, WITHOUT TABLING THEM. RUTH MADE CLEAR FOR THE FIRST TIME (FRG HAS NOT SAID THIS IN SPC) THAT THE FRG WOULD BE WILLING TO CONFIRM IN THE NEGOTIATION THAT THE FIGURES IN THIS PUBLICATION WERE ACCURATE. IF THE EAST

ASKED WHY THE WEST WAS WILLING TO CONFIRM
THE FIGURES IN THIS PUBLICATION, BUT NOT
TO TABLE THEM, THE WEST WOULD REPLY THAT

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THIS WAS BECAUSE THE FIGURES WERE NOT PART
OF THE NEGOTIATION. TURH SAID HE DISAGREED
MEETING THAT IT WOULD BE IMPOSSIBLE UNDER
THE DUTCH PROPOSAL FOR THE ALLIES TO MAKE
A DISCLAIMER PROTECTING THEIR POSITION
AGAINST NATIONAL SUB-CEILINGS. RUTH SAID
THE FRG IS VERY PLEASED WITH THE DUTCH
PROPOSAL, AND WITH THE OPPORTUNITY TO
SUPPORT AN IDEA COMING FROM ANOTHER
COUNTRY IN THE NGA WHOSE FORCES ARE TOTALLY
CONCERNED BY MBFR, AS ARE FRG FORCES.
(SLOSS POINTED OUT THAT THE DUTCH SEEM
TO BE MOVING AWAY FROM THEIR PROPOSAL,
AND THEY STRONGLY PREFER THE TABLING OF
NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS.)
(B) A PROPOSAL FOR AN EXCHANGE OF UNIT DATA.
THE WEST WOULD PROPOSE THAT EACH SIDE
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LIST ITS INDIVIDUAL DIVISIONS, WITH MANNING
LEVELS, BY LOCATION (8.E., TOWN),
WITHOUT REGARD TO NATIONALITY.
(C) UNILATERAL TABLING OF UE SUB-TOTALS
AND WESTERN ESTIMATES OF SOVIET SUB-TOTALS.

COMMENT: OMISSION OF FUNCTIONAL DISAGGREGATION FROM THE FRG PROPOSAL CONFIRMS THE EARLIER STATEMENT OF THE FRG DELEGATION THAT US ARGUMENTS LED THE FRG TO MOVE AWAY FROM THIS IDEA. END COMMENT.

5. RUTH THOUGHT THIS THREE-PART PROPOSAL WAS A REASONABLE ONE, AND WAS ALL THAT THE WEST NEEDED TO DO AS THE NEXT STEP IN THE DATA EXCHANGE. SLOSS RSR NUMBER OF ARGUMENTS AGAINST THREE THREE PROPOSALS, DRAWING ON TALKINRWINTS BROUGHT FROM WASHINGTON. HE EMPHASIZED IN PARTICULAR THAT THEY WOULD NOT LEAD THE EAST TO TABLE DATA, AND THUS WOULD NOT ENABLE THE WEST TO GET ON WITH SEEKING THE SOURCE OF THE DISCREPANCIES IN EASTERN DATA. RUTH REMAINED FIRM ON THE REASONABLENESS OF THE FRG THREE-PART PROPOSAL.

6. DISCUSSION OF THE IDEA OF AN SPC MEETING ON DATA DISAGGREGATION REINFORMED BY EXPERTS FROM CAPITALS LED RUTH AND SLOSS TO AGREE THAT IT WOULD PROBABLY BE BETTER FOR SENIOR US AND FRG EXPERTS FIRST TO ARGUE THE ISSUES AMONG THEMSELVES, RATHER THAN IN THE PRESENCE OF THE OTHER ALLIES. SUCH A MEETING COULD HELP PREPARE FOR A LATER REINFORCED SPC MEETING IF NEEDED. RUTH NOTED THAT IF THERE WERE A REINFORCED SPC MEETING, THE FRG WOULD SEND COL SCHREIBER (MOD). RUTH SAID THAT HE WOULD GIVE THE US THE FRG PAPER ON DATA DISAGGREGATION SOME TIME NEXT WEEK, AND A
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US-FRG EXPERTS MEETING COULD TAKE PLACE EARLY THE FOLLOWING WEEK. THE US EXPERTS COULD COME TO BONN, OR FRG OFFICIALS COULD GO TO WASHINGTON. RUTH SAID HE PERSONALLY WAS WILLING TO GO TO WASHINGTON. IN THE MEANTIME, THE REGULAR SPC DEBATE WOULD CONTINUE. SLOSS SAID HE WOULD REPORT BACK TO WASHINGTON, AND WE WOULD BE IN FURTHER TOUCH WITH THE FRG ON THE QUESTION.

7. COMMENT: RUTH CREATED A STRONG IMPRESSION OF A HARDENING OF THE FRG POSITION ON TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS. WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US REMAIN FIRM BEHIND ITS PRESENT POSITION. MOST ALLIES WISH TO PROCEED IN THE WAY THAT WE DO, AND THE UK HAS TAKEN A PARTICULARLY STRONG LINE. ALL OF THE ALLIES WOULD AGREE TO TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS IF THE FRG WOULD AGREE. THE US SHOULD CONTINUE TO SUPPORT THE TABLING OF NATIONAL SUB-TOTALS, AND TO SEEK

TO DISPOSE OF THE VARIOUS INADEQUATE ALTERNATIVES TO THIS STEP, AS THE US HAS APPARENTLY DISPOSED OF FUNCTIONAL DISAGGREGATION. AT THE SAME TIME, WE CANNOT EXCLUDE THAT THE FRG WILL MAINTAIN ITS PRESENT POSITION INDEFINITELY. THE US MAY THEREFORE WISH TO EXAMINE WHETHER AS A LAST RESORT, THE DUTCH PROPOSAL, WITH CONFIRMATION IN THE NEGOTIATION OF THE AUTHENTICITY OF THE FIGURES, COULD BE DEVELOPED INTO SOMETHING SO CLOSE TO TABLING DATA THAT IN VIENNA THE DIFFERENCE BETWEEN THE

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DUTCH PROPOSAL AND ACTUAL TABLING COULD BE
BLURRED. END COMMENT.

8. ACTION REQUESTED:

(A) WE RECOMMEND THAT THE US AND FRG EXCHANGE THE PAPERS THEY ARE PREPARING ON DATA DISAGGREGATION, WITH THE US GIVING THE FRG THE TALKING POINTS PAPER ON VARIOUS OPTIONS MENTIONED IN PARA 4, REF A, AS SOON AS IT IS COMPLETED.
(C) THE US SHOULD GET IN TOUCH WITH THE FRG IN BONN REGARDING US VIEWS ON EXPERTS DISCUSSIONS, AND ARRANGEMENTS FOR THEM, IN LIGHT OF PARA 6 ABOVE.
(C) USNATO WOULD APPRECIATE THE GUIDANCE REQUESTED IN PARAS 12 AND 13, REF B, IN TIME FOR SPC MEETING TUESDAY, APRIL 26. IN
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PARTICULAR, THE GUIDANCE REQUESTED IN PARA 12
OF THAT MESSAGE WOULD OFFER THE US THE
OPPORTUNITY TO INFLUENCE THE FRG PAPER
UNDER PREPARATION ON THE THREE-PART
FRG PROPOSAL.PEREZ

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